

# Lotem Halevy

(She/Her)

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## Academic Positions

- Current **University of Konstanz, Cluster of Excellence, The Politics of Inequality**  
Independent Postdoctoral Fellow  
Funded Project: *Who Gets to Play? Enfranchisement and Party System Consolidation in Central Eastern Europe*
- 2022-2023 **University of Oxford**  
Queen Elizabeth Fellow (Scholarship), St. Catherine's College
- 2015-2017 **Hebrew University of Jerusalem**  
Research Assistant, Orit Kedar (Political Science)

## Education

- 2024 **University of Pennsylvania**  
Ph.D. in Political Science  
Examinations: Comparative Politics, American Politics, Formal Theory (Princeton)  
CTL Teaching Certificate (Pedagogy, Completed in 2021)
- 2022 **London School of Economics and Political Science**  
Visiting PhD Student, European Institute
- 2019 **University of Pennsylvania**  
M.A. Political Science
- 2018 **Princeton University**  
Visiting PhD student, Political Economy
- 2015 **University of British Columbia**  
B.A. Political Science

## Research Interests

Political Parties and Nationalism, Democratisation and Diversity, Public Law, Origins of the Welfare State, Historical Data, Mixed-Method Research, Eastern European and East Central European Studies

## Book, In Progress

*Who Gets to Play? Enfranchisement and Party System Consolidation in Central Eastern Europe*

Book Workshop: January 2025

## Publications

1. O. Kedar, O. Oshri, **L. Halevy** *The changing gender gaps in voting: An occupational realignment* (Accepted, European Union Politics)

In a dramatic reversal from five decades ago, in most Western democracies today, women support left-leaning parties at higher rates than men. We explain this change on the left by focusing on men's vote. We contend that occupational vulnerability to immigration led manual workers, most of whom are men, to abandon the mainstream left and support the radical right at disproportionately high rates. Furthermore, this effect is contingent on the economic positions of parties both on the left and the radical right. Drawing on public opinion data from 18 countries over a 46-year period, labour data on skills required in different sectors and party positions, we conduct both aggregate and individual-level analyses. We find that realignment of the vote along occupational lines in a gender-segregated labour market is at the heart of the change in the gender gap in voting.

## Working Papers

1. **L. Halevy**, *Working with electoral data from autocratic regimes: Lessons from pre-democratic elections in the Kingdom of Hungary* (Blog post)

How do we as researchers extract data from historical records while simultaneously ensuring that the data reliably represent historical events? Historically, many emergent states held elections before their full democratic transition, and yet, scholars of regime change often truncate their quantitative data to either the period before free and fair elections or the period after. This truncation bifurcates regime change into either "democratic", or not, and all but ignores the necessary role pre-democratic elections played in many failed and successful transitions to democracy. In this paper, I propose a mixed-method framework for studying and using electoral data from pre-democratic elections to study democratic (or lack thereof) political outcomes. I conceptually decompose democratizing electoral institutions into their inputs and their outputs. I then demonstrate the utility of directed acyclic graphs (DAGs) for theoretically thinking through the processes which motivate pre-democratic elections. Using an original digitization of electoral data from the Kingdom of Hungary (1878-1935), I move to consider how the relationships between different vertices in the DAGs, can be measured and controlled so that researchers can better understand the causal relationships between electoral inputs and electoral outputs during moments of political regime change. To do this I show how qualitative case studies of the inputs can be combined with quantitative historical data, to fill in qualitative gaps in quantitative studies.

*Prepared for joined output with Authoritarian Political Systems Group, Workshop 2024*

2. **L. Halevy**, *Parties that care: Social service provision and the origins of nationalist constituencies in diverse and democratizing states*

How do parties carve out, politicize, and mobilize constituencies during democratization? Using several original data sources from the Kingdom of Hungary, and a mixed-method approach, I show that Socialist, Catholic, ethnic, and agrarian parties emerged slowly from below. As they did, parties cemented themselves in civil society through the construction of voluntary associations, many of which provided the masses with necessary social services during a time of mass disenfranchisement from the emergent state.

I show that some parties were more successful at this grassroots mobilisation-through-social-services than others, and argue that this fulfilment of needs by parties helped first politicize subsets of the masses, and following universal manhood suffrage, it mobilized the masses. Using simple OLS models, I show how boundaries to constituencies are constrained around how parties define access to their associations. Simply, where parties were restricted access to associations on a class base, the post-democratic constituency was bounded by class or occupational requisites; where parties restricted access to associations on a religious or ethno-national base, the post-democratic constituency was bounded by religious or ethno-national requisites. By combining the study of party building with the study of the non-state origins of the European welfare state, I demonstrate how parties can gain their initial footholds in democratising societies, footholds that help them survive the lowering of the electoral threshold.

3. H. Zola, **L. Halevy**, *Variation in sources: Counting hard-to-reach populations, the case of Haredi Jews in London* (research note)

How can researchers better ensure reliable counts for hard-to-reach populations when the “true” count is unknown? It is widely known that Orthodox Jews in the United Kingdom are undercounted on the national census. On the other hand, non-governmental organizations are incentivized to inflate counts on their membership registrars in return for more state resources. In this research note, we demonstrate the utility of using sources at different levels of analysis which come from different agencies and organizations, for triangulating and estimating counts of hard-to-reach populations in advanced industrialized democracies. We rely on the case of Orthodox Jews in London and demonstrate how bridging micro-level data (interviews), meso-level data (non-state associations) and state-collected macro-level data (administrative data) give radically different estimates for the number and distribution of Orthodox Jews in London. We end with a discussion that outlines a framework for better-aligning data sources with research questions when the true population counts of hard-to-reach populations are unknown.

4. **L. Halevy**, *The democratic trade-off: Incumbency and “universal” manhood suffrage*

This paper systematically argues against, or rather qualifies, the argument that socialists were responsible for the passage of universal manhood suffrage in Europe. Using an original dataset that covers 20 emergent European states in the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries and processes tracing of the legislative processes and contextual political environments that led to the passage of universal manhood suffrage in Austria (1896 and 1907), I show that incumbents vying to maintain their incumbency were primarily responsible for the political incorporation of the masses. However, the cases of electoral of electoral law covered, also reveal that governing elites faced a democratic dilemma between universality and equality. I show how, in diverse democratising states, elites used creative tools embedded in constitutional law to solve their dilemma, often making “universal” manhood suffrage anything but universal.

5. **L. Halevy**, *Who gets to play? Enfranchisement in diverse societies: The case of the democratizing Kingdom of Hungary*

Why do ethnically diverse states enfranchise some minority groups before others? Like most Western European states, Central Eastern European states experienced nation-state consolidation in conjunction with democratization and this led to a pattern of gradual enfranchisement. Using historical comparative analysis, and evidence from the democratizing period in the Kingdom of Hungary (1867-1918), I show how different types of threats, from within parliaments and from outside parliaments, factored into elites’ calculations about who to enfranchise. I consider elites’ national, political, and economic preferences and provide an assessment of the group-level characteristics that I hypothesize and later show affect the (dis)enfranchisement of minority groups in diverse democratizing states. These character traits are: size and cohesion. The evidence shows that while well-organized (small and cohesive) minority groups organized politically, the worst organized of the ethnonational minorities were enfranchised to manufacture minimum-winning coalitions for the incumbent party as they posed less of a political and national threat. In other words, political organization can backfire on minority groups when it comes to political inclusion in diverse states.

6. **L. Halevy**, B. Yoel, *Coalitions, oppositions, and judicial democratic reversion: A paired comparison of Israel and Hungary*

The erosion of democracy by democratically elected leaders is rising globally. And yet, we still lack a strong understanding of the factors that explain whether elected leaders are successful, or not, in eroding democracy through the courts. What explains variation in elite-led democratic reversion across contexts? We focus on Israel and Hungary, two recent cases of the global trend away from democracy, one successful, one less so. We build on the notion that many activists and journalists within Israel have sought to compare Israel's democratic erosion to that of Hungary. We first demonstrate the salience of this comparison by using an original corpus of data from newspaper coverage of democratic erosion in Israel. While Hungary is certainly not the only case Israelis reference when discussing judicial reforms that could lead to democratic reversion in Israel, we show that it is by far the central case. We then conduct an in-depth comparison of the two countries. While similar in many features, such as the attempted erosion of democracy by right-wing leaders, we point to various differences between the two countries, such as the timing of opposition resistance, and the party politics of the two states. Thus, this paper sheds further light on the intricate processes of democratic erosion and the different strategies used by democratically elected leaders.

## Works in Progress

1. **L. Halevy**, *The political economy of hate: Conceptualisation, definition, and the democratic origins of political antisemitism*
2. **L. Halevy**, *Emancipation and the rise of political antisemitism in Central Europe*
3. **L. Halevy**, H. Zola *The world's largest contemporary religious disenfranchisement: Nationalism, discrimination, and political competition in Assam*, **on hiatus: looking for area specialist as coauthor**
4. **L. Halevy**, *Caps on the franchise: A theory of political competition and social spending by political parties*, **on hiatus**

## Datasets and Crosswalks

1. **L. Halevy**, *The entry, exit, and merger of political parties in the Austrian-Hungarian Empire (1848-1945)*
2. **L. Halevy**, *Hungarian census records (1870-1910)*
3. **L. Halevy**, *Winners of the electoral game in the Kingdom of Hungary (1861-1910)*
4. **L. Halevy**, *Civil associations in Hungary, and select Austrian crown lands (1848-1945)*
5. **L. Halevy**, *Crosswalks for merging settlements, electoral districts, census districts, and counties in the Kingdom of Hungary (1883-1910)*
6. **L. Halevy**, *Assimilation and religiosity: Neolog, Orthodox and Status Quo Rabbis in the Kingdom of Hungary (1848-1945)*, in progress
7. **L. Halevy**, *Micro-level Hungarian election results (1926-1944)*, not originally collected nor originally digitized
8. H. Zola, **L. Halevy**, *Where are the Orthodox Jews in London? A directory of Orthodox businesses*, in progress
9. **L. Halevy** and Dawn Teele, *Enfranchisement in Europe dataset*, in progress

## Awards and Honors

- 2018 Robert A. Fox Fellow, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2017 - 2022 Benjamin Franklin Fellow, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2015 - 2017 Visiting Research Fellow, *Hebrew University of Jerusalem*
- 2011 President's Entrance Scholarship, *University of British Columbia*

## Research Grants

- 2022 Graduate Research Grant, *Christopher H. Browne Center for International Politics*
- 2021 Small Research Grant, *Religion and Politics APSA section*
- 2021 Virginia Gray Graduate Research Grant, *Political Organizations and Parties APSA section*
- 2021-2023 Project Incubation and Support Grant, *Price Lab for Digital Humanities*
- 2019 and 2022 Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration Graduate Student Research Grant, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2018-2021 SAS Dean's Travel Subvention, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2018-2023 Department of Political Science Summer Research Funding, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2014 Go Global International Learning Award, *University of British Columbia*

## Employment

- 2018 Research Assistant, Professor Matthew Levendusky *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2015 Researcher, Equal Voice (Vancouver, BC)

## Teaching Experience

- One-day Workshop Creating and working with historical data
- Spring 2020 PSCI 243: Dilemmas of Immigration
- Spring 2020 PSCI 247: Elections and Campaigns
- Fall 2019 PSCI 130: Introduction to American Politics (Head Teaching Assistant)
- Spring 2019 PSCI 230: American Democracy and Public Opinion (Research Design Requirement of Undergraduate Students)
- Fall 2018 PSCI 215: Politics of the European Union
- Spring 2019 PSCI 210: Contemporary African Politics

## Service

- Reviewer, *American Political Science Review*
- 2022 Co-organizer of Nuffield Workshop on Historical Political Research (with Jorge Man-  
gonnet)
- 2020-2021 Editorial Assistant, *Socio-Economic Review*
- 2020-2021 Center for the Study of Ethnicity, Race and Immigration Graduate Workshop  
Coordinator, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2019-2020 Comparative Politics Workshop Graduate Coordinator, *University of Pennsylvania*
- 2018 Admitted Students' Day Coordinator, *University of Pennsylvania*

## Additional Training

- 2018 Inter-University Consortium on Political and Social Research (ICPSR), Summer Pro-  
gram in Quantitative Methods (*Social Choice Theory, Advanced Game Theory, Maximum  
Likelihood Estimation I and II, Causal Inference*)

## Past and Scheduled Conferences (Presenter or Discussant)

- June 2025 Democracy and Inequality in Central Eastern Europe *The Cluster of Excellence, The Politics of Inequality* organized with Laura Jakli (HBS)
- June 2024 Practices of Comparative-Historical Analysis Workshop, *Aarhus University*
- May 2024 New Faces and Methods in Authoritarian Politics, *Tulane University*
- May 2024 Toronto Political Development Workshop (discussant), *Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto*
- March 2024 Political Behaviour Lab, *University of Haifa*
- Nov 2023 University of Haifa (Cancelled)
- June 2023 29th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *University of Iceland*
- June 2023 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *Glasgow, United Kingdom*
- May 2023 Toronto Political Development Workshop, *Munk School of Global Affairs, University of Toronto*
- April 2023 ASEN: Nationalism and Multiculturalism, *University of Loughborough*
- Nov 2022 Minority Politics Online Seminar Series *Online, Michigan State University*
- Oct 2022 Oxford Meeting in Historical Political Economy (co-organizer), *Nuffield College, University of Oxford*
- Sept 2022 Crises, Inequality and Political Change in Eastern and Western European History *Università Bocconi*
- June 2022 28th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *Lisbon, Portugal*
- June 2022 Graduate Student Workshop on Historical Political Research, Council for European Studies, *Lisbon, Portugal*
- June 2022 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *Prague, Czech Republic*
- Nov 2021 GSIPE Workshop on Qualitative and Mixed Methods in IPE *online*
- Sept 2021 American Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Politics and History section *online*
- Sept 2021 APSA Early Career Workshop, European Politics and Society, *online*
- June 2021 27th International Conference of Europeanists, Council for European Studies, *online*
- June 2021 European Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *online*
- June 2021 Canadian Political Science Association (panel organizer and presenter), *online*
- May 2021 Graduate Student Workshop on Historical Political Research, Council for European Studies, *online*
- Jan 2020 Southern Political Science Association Annual Meeting, *San Juan, Puerto Rico*
- Sep 2019 Northeast Workshop in Empirical Political Science (discussant), *NYC, NY*
- July 2019 European Conference on Politics and Gender, *Amsterdam, NL*

## Computing Skills

STATA, Python (Beginner), ArcGIS, L<sup>A</sup>T<sub>E</sub>X

## References

Dr. Julia Lynch  
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Dr. Ben Ansell  
Professor of Comparative Democratic Institutions at Nuffield College, University of Oxford  
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